2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat, 116, P. 31 - - An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, P. 33 . . An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

IMPLEMENTS OF WOOD.

411 The Washo have a number of implements of wood. Of these perhaps the most important are the bow (balo'hat), and arrow (mûckĭt'sat), just referred to. At present only the simplest wooden [182] bow such as that shown in plate VI, fig. 2, is to be found. Formerly, however, a sinew-backed bow with strongly curved ends was used. One such bow was seen in possession of a white resident near Gardnerville, Nevada, who had secured it about twenty years ago from an old Washo. It was about the same length as the common wooden bow of the present day, and was strongly reinforced with sinew applied longitudinally and glued to the back or outer, rounded surface of the bow so as to form a coating from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness.

As above mentioned, the arrows are sometimes provided with small points (matca'tĭ) of chipped flint or obsidian. Such an arrow was formerly used for hunting large game and for war purposes. Usually, though not always, it is provided with a foreshaft into which the head is bound with sinew, this foreshaft being itself bound with sinew to the main shaft. The rear of the shaft is provided with three fairly ample, carefully trimmed feathers, bound to it with sinew. These have a slight twist which gives the arrow a rotary motion. The notch is rather shallow. The arrows shown in this plate average about thirty-two inches in length.

[237] The quiver (ĭt'patsû), shown in fig. 1 of this plate, is made of dressed deer skin with the hair inside and is said to be typical of aboriginal days.

412 Of common utensils of wood the flat-bladed mush paddle (ka'as), and the looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), are still used. These are shown in plate V, figs. 4 and 3, respectively. The latter is employed especially for removing partly cooled stones from the baskets of piñon or other mush, while the former is employed for stirring in general. The usual wooden tongs are used for lifting these hot rocks from the fire, and a common stick is used as a poker, and is called tsû'hû. This simple implement is shown in plate V, fig. 1.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.365, A]
[Introductory, P.Vi is blank]

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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131 This paper will devote itself to a description of the religious life of the Washo Indians living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords, in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada. Smaller numbers are scattered throughout the area which was their aboriginal range, roughly from the southern end of Honey Lake to Antelope Valley and from the divide of the Pinenut Range in Nevada, almost to Placerville, California.

114 A short ethnography by Barrett dealing in large part with material culture, Lowie's Ethnographic Notes, and Stewart's Element Lists constitute almost the only general references on Washo culture. Various other writers have dealt with specialized questions such as linguistics (Kroeber, Jacobson), peyotism (Siskin, d'Azevedo), and music (Merriam).

161 Most of the statements about the Washo give the im-
114 pression that they have long been on the edge of oblivion (Mooney, Kroeber, etc.), and population estimates have been well under one thousand for the past fifty years. However, I find myself in agreement with d'Azevedo[1] that the Washo are a vigorous and continuing cul-
101 tural entity. My own rather impressionistic estimate of population is that there are perhaps two thousand Indians in the area who consider themselves as Washo and form a part of a viable cultural unit.

114 My own field work was devoted to an attempt to
[115] trace the patterns of change among these people since the entrance of the white man into their area. To this end I spent a great deal of time with older informants,
[178] but my work was not exclusively "salvage ethnography." Many aspects of Washo culture have changed dramatically in the past century; this is particularly true in the area of material culture and subsistence activities.
114 On the other hand, I was impressed by the tenacity of
182 the less material aspects of the culture. The always-difficult-to-define world view or ethos of the Washo, which so clearly separates them from other cultures, is very much an entity expressed in the attitudes and actions of the Washo Indians, whether they are oldsters who can remember many aspects of the "old days" or children who have not yet entered the newly integrated schools of Nevada. This continuity seems most clearly expressed in the area which we subsume under the title "Religion." Almost all Washo, even the youngsters, are familiar with, or at least aware of, Washo mythology, attitudes about ghosts, spirits, medicine, and a number of ritual actions and beliefs which are common elements in Washo life today.

This is not to imply that Washo religious activity has not been affected by the tremendous changes which have taken place in western Nevada and eastern California. I suggest that rather than disappearing under

[1] W. L. d'Azevedo, basing his opinions on extensive field work in the area, contends that early estimates of Washo population were incorrect and that modern figures based on these estimates are inaccurate. A contemporary estimate, made by a resident journalist in 1881, was somewhat over 3,000.

[P. 365, B]

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

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Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

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This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes: thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors ga- [344] thered and made medicine against the enemy before launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Wood- [177] fords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young men learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley: attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless, she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P. 393, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group

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headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular

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peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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"Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[P. 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

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"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

[P. 380, 8]

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
787 before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
[782] In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can
just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[1] They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit
driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
624 fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
224 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
178 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep
a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was
fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states
that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the
group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of
my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly
during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably de-
scribed as "just for fun" and probably was more social
than religious, but such dancing appears to have been
part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions
such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and
the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever ten-
dency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of ante-
lope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a
growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which
precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo.
Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever
eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave
a direct answer to the question of why they hunted
bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that
the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation condi-
tions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they
obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The fol-
lowing story told to me by one of the eldest men in
Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a
very old man, is consistent with the stories told by
other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[2]

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[787] [1]This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [2]This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P 383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.
527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
[754] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction
[177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there
[80] was any requirement that the dance last four days. They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
[782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 There seems to have been little ritual involved in
789 other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2821). This practice must have been occasional and
● [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P.384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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● 182

The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764]
[782]

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents. 591

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away. 764 431 [782] [775]

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal. 574

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange. [844] [881] [182] [431]

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing. [22]

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites. 782 [264] [533] [241]

T:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.351,A]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

[177]

ECONOMIC LIFE

224

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 328). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

(624)

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

[411]

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

[178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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[182]

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

He was *in* that song and it made a connection—took him down the road. You can tell he liked the gourd and drum, too. They really keep him going."

4. "He has that real Indian sound in his voice—like the old-time Indians."

There is little real response to questions dealing, for example, with the difference between good and bad songs; it is evident that "good" and "bad" take the musician immediately to the texts rather than to music analysis—"No, it all depends on the wording, but we don't know the wording of the other tribes' language so we have to trust that it is a good song"; "Just the sound might sound better in some song, but it don't mean any better as long as the man singing is a good man. There are no bad songs unless a man is thinking bad."

It seems clear that a song is judged not so much for or by itself as it is in terms of a total situation. No informant speaks of technique or structure; any special effect of technical finesse is seen as a whole, that is, as a total reaction of the commentator to the personality, association, and potency of the performer as well as to his equipment the perfection of his rattle, and whether he was a good voice. Songs are not things in themselves but are vehicles through which religious emotions and concepts are expressed. They are something that has to be dreamed, heard in the mind's ear, performed; and the concept of "song" abstracted from "performance" is not present. The singer himself is caught in the totality of the performance; it is a religious and emotional experience for him—he may "take a trip when he sings," and he never just "sings a song." "When I'm singing," said Z, "I'm praying in the Tipi and going on the journey over that road."

III

Vocal style

McAllester (1949:65–6) has noted a special Peyote vocal technique which corresponds best to Herzog's Type B. "In general the Peyote songs are sung in a rather simple vocal style. There is usually somewhat greater tension on the vocal chords than is used by Europeans, there is somewhat greater use of accents and grace notes, and there are occasional pulsations on certain notes, particularly if they are quarter notes or longer. But the high degree of tension, the quavers, breaks, shakes and shouts of Type A American Indian singing are, often, much reduced or quite absent" (p. 65). These conclusions fit the Washo Peyote vocal style almost perfectly.

There is, however, one special vocal effect called a "shaking sound"; the ability to produce it is considered to be the mark of an excellent singer. At the same time, according to one informant, "That shaking sound you hear sometimes in the Tipi is the medicine working, not just the man does that; the medicine and good thoughts do that." The sound referred to is a particularly vibrant quality to the voice which gives the impression that many voices are singing at once in a slightly disharmonic, vibrating manner. Within the tipi the effect is quite dramatic; the tipi seems to be shuddering and at moments the tent poles appear to be shaking against a strong wind. Singing of this sort is

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelévu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other; and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/4 [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

One use in deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugâlu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differ- W N [177] ences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 182 ● 22

In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

Northern Paiute NR13

N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W [668]

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W [18] [623]

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

N W 105 177 178 W [186] [668] [464]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

N 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

W 105 177 182

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

W [122]

DDD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[4] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[5] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[6] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[7]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[8] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[4] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[5] Beals, 1932, 216.

[6] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[7] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[8] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

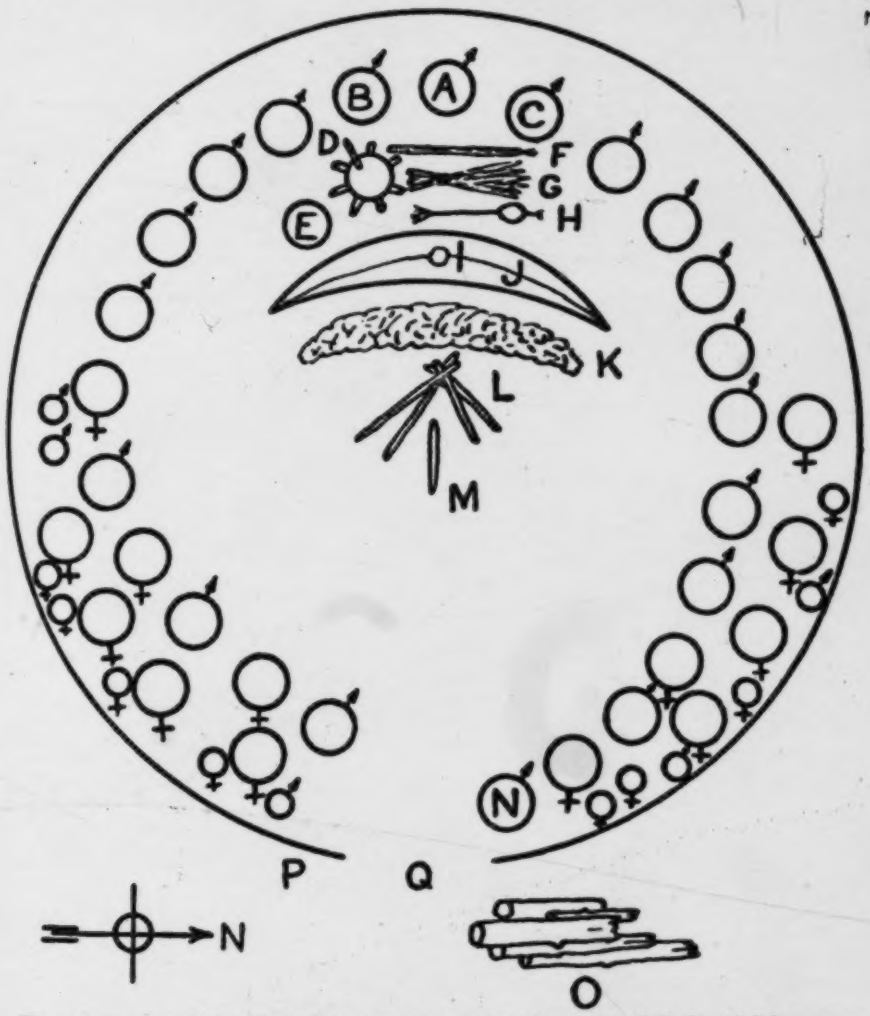

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[30] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[31]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[32] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[33]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[30] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[31] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[32] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[33] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[20] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

[20] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[a] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[b] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[a] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[b] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[c] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 13131–13141, 13202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[7] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning these cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[8] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[7] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Sehurs missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurs in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[8] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Perdrio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism."

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipō that they use down south."[3]

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents."[4]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

[2] La Barre (103–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[3] Muipō might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[4] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Phillco Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See cat. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

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N W 177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

N W ● [182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.